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# CHINESE LABOR.

## A LECTURE,

DELIVERED BEFORE THE SAN FRANCISCO MECHANICS' INSTITUE.

BY

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IN REPLY TO THE HON. F. M. PIXLEY.

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# LECTURE.

*Ladies and Gentlemen:*

The facts and figures I propose to submit to your consideration, this evening, are intended to throw some light on the *un*popular side of one of the greatest questions of the day—*Chinese Labor.*

Lacking the experience as a public speaker, usually possessed by members of that profession whose peculiar province it is to make "*the worse appear the better cause,*" I have to rely on the influence of the naked, unadorned truth, and upon your sense of justice, to obtain a patient hearing.

In consequence of having had only one side of this great question presented to them, many intelligent people have been prevented forming a just or correct opinion of its present and prospective effects and consequences; and *prejudice*, the unthinking faculty of the human mind, through being fostered and encouraged, has usurped the throne of *reason* among a considerable portion of this community, and deprived numbers of the power to clearly comprehend their own interests.

It is easier, far easier, to move a mountain, than it is to remove such a prejudice; because it is more difficult to bring a force to operate on the mind of an unreasoning man, than it is to set steam paddies, giant powder and the galvanic battery to work on the mountain.

Intellectual ability, that divine, boundless power, by

which the relation of facts and things, from the struction of an animalculæ to the mysterious laws which control the universe, are comprehended and applied to the purposes of life, cannot exist in harmony with prejudice. The one is always destructive of the other. *Mercy, justice* and *truth* are the evidence of *intellectual strength*, while cruelty, persecution and oppression are the products of *prejudice.*

The healthy intellect is governed by *conscience—God's* messenger to *man*—to which prejudice bars the entrance. Whenever an individual, a community, or a nation, permits prejudice to control their actions, they place themselves bound head, feet and hands at the mercy of demagogues, charlatans and humbugs.

The clearest proof of the correctness of this, is presented by the fact—too notorious to be doubted—that the worst class of men ride into political power by pandering to the ignorant, a course which is sapping the vitality of our republican institutions, and such as no honorable, able gentleman would degrade himself by persuing to obtain office, or transient popularity.

I make this explanation of the nature and effects of prejudice, because prejudice is the only formidable obstacle that stands in the way of a reasonable solution of the question of Chinese Labor, and prevents its fair discussion.

If, as a spectator, you attended a session of any of our criminals courts, and watched the trial of a person accused of murder or robbery, you would hear the prosecuting counsel present such an array of testimony, against the accused, that his guilt would appear proven beyond doubt. And did not justice demand that the other side of the case should be heard, condemnation and punishment would be certain. The counsel for the defense, by merely eliciting facts not called out by the prosecution, with the testimony of the very same witnesses, who had

seemed to prove the guilt of the accused, fully establishes his innocence.

Such a change of opinion I shall endeavor to bring about this evening, in reference to Chinese labor. I shall assume the office of counsel for the defense of the Chinese. Not so much for their sake, as for the sake of the white working men of California, and you, ladies and gentlemen, shall act as both judges and jurors. In conducting my case, I shall not resort to the usual tricks of the regular criminal lawyer; I shall not abuse or misrepresent the character of the witnesses on the other side, nor submit for your consideration any of those subtleties of the law which bother the brains of the ablest jurist; but shall confine myself to the facts of the case, as they are, nought extenuating nor setting down aught in malice. And though but a very inexperienced and indifferent advocate, I rely upon your sense of justice for a merciful and honest verdict.

As in the ordinary courts of justice, the advocate is not held responsible for the conduct of his clients, and is permitted to state his case without molestation; I trust I shall be granted the same privileges while stating my case before this august tribunal.

In order that you may thoroughly understand the question you are called upon to decide, I will state the charges preferred against the Chinese in the broadest terms:

They are charged with, *First.* Being of an inferior race to the white man; with being barbarians, heathen, incapable of understanding or adopting our language, laws, religion, habits or customs.

*Secondly.* That their moral and social habits are injurious to the community.

*Thirdly.* That they work for less wages than white men and women, and, by so doing, deprive the latter of employment; that they do not spend their earnings

here, and thus injure the State, by sending the money out of it.

*Fourthly.* Their patience, expertness and industry enable them to rapidly learn how to perform the labor of white men.

*Fifthly.* That they are coolies, or bond servants, compelled to work for their Chinese masters, contrary to the letter and spirit of the laws and customs of the United States.

In support of these charges, I will read extracts from the published statements of the leading counsel on the other side, to avoid being accused of dodging the issue.

Mr. Rockwell, ex-editor of the *Morning Call*, the organ of the anti-coolieites, member of the last legislature and author of Assembly Bill No. 13, presented to that body, which had for its object the expulsion of the Chinese from this State, by levying taxes upon them, which it would be impossible for them to pay.

As chairman of the committee to which his own bill was submitted, Mr. Rockwell presented a report, which was published in the most of the city papers, in which he alleged that in consequence of the coolie system, the Chinese increased in this State more rapidly than white laborers; that they could not understand our language or laws; that nine tenths of those in this State are coolies; that their women are bought and sold.

Mr. George, the present editor of the Sacramento *Reporter*, published a long article against the Chinese in the New York *Tribune*, in May 1869, and sent a copy of this article to Mr. Stewart Mill, the eminent English political economist, to obtain that gentleman's opinion upon the subject of Chinese immigration. In that ponderous article, which filled four columns of the *Tribune*, he makes the following charges against these people, as explained by himself in a letter published in the *Alta*, Nov. 22, 1869:

1st. That the Chinese standard of comfort is lower than the American, and they are, therefore, enable to work, and do work, for less wages.

2d. That the intellectual capacity of the Chinese is of a *high order*, and that they are capable, not only of manual labor, but of successfully pursuing many, if not most, of the mechanical trades and occupations.

3d. They are rapidly making their way with various *branches of production*, and in all are proving their capacity and *giving satisfaction to their employers.*

The Hon. Eugene Casserly, one of the United States senators for this State, in a speech delivered in this city only a few months since, and subsequently more fully explained by himself, charged that the Chinese were the most frugal, industrious, and ingenious people in the world, and because they would work for less wages than white men, were injurious to their interests.

The Hon. James A. Johnson, one of the representatives in Congress from this State, in a speech delivered before that body on the 24th of January last, charged the Chinese with taking away the earnings of the white man by working for lower wages, and asserted that the importation of 50,000 Chinese would reduce the wages of 200,000 white men, in any section, fully 25 per cent., and that such a reduction was a clear loss to the country.

He further charged the Chinese with hating our customs, with having a contempt for our Government, and fairly loathing our religion and our God, and alleged that the lowest character in California would feel *disgraced and ruined for ever, if caught associating* with the Chinese. On the question of labor, he asserted that cheap labor is a curse, and would never develop the resourses of a country; that it was only high priced labor that was productive.

The Hon. F. M. Pixley, one of the most popular and

voluble speakers in the State—a gentleman who possesses the profitable faculty of speaking with equal force on both sides of any question—in a lecture delivered in this hall last Saturday evening, so closely followed the statements and opinions of Mr. Johnson that it is evident the materials of both speeches emanated from the same source. It is therefore unnecessary to repeat his charges in this place.

As the above extracts from the speeches of the leading counsel on the opposite side cover all the charges preferred against the Chinese, I shall not tire your patience by citing any more authorities on the part of the prosecution. I shall now endeavor to refute these charges, and shall take them up in the order in which I have stated them.

Are the Chinese barbarians, heathen, incapable of understanding or adopting our customs, language, laws or religion? The first witnesses I shall call will be the officers of the sabbath and public schools. These will tell you that in April, 1870, there were 1200 Chinese, chiefly adults, attending the sabbath schools in this city, and a large number attend similar schools in all the interior towns in which they are granted the privilege. The conductors of these schools will tell you that the Chinese are remarkably zealous, and make great progress in learning our language, and that they evince a most commendable earnestness in striving to learn the *mystery of Christian Holiness.*

The teachers in the Chinese public day and evening schools, will tell you that their pupils are exceedingly attentive and obedient, and learn their lessons readily.

In this city there are nearly 300 of the better class of Chinese who employ private tutors to instruct them, not only in the English language, but French, German, Spanish, Greek and Latin; and there are many of these people, in this city, who can converse in all these langu-

ages, and who are better informed in all that relates to the history and institutions of this and of all the European nations, than the majority of those who call them barbarians.

In July, 1869, when the Congressional Committee of Ways and Means were here on an official visit, several of its members attended the Chinese schools. One of the committee, the Hon. W. D. Kelly, member of Congress from Pennsylvania, the foremost defender of the policy of protection to American labor and industry, on that occasion, after hearing the exercises of the Chinese scholars, stated that he was astonished at the progress they had made in learning our language, as he had been induced to believe that they were unable, or had no desire to learn either our language or religion.

Mr. Kelly expressed the opinion that it was the destiny of this republic to utilize the labor of the Chinese as an instrument for their conversion to Christianity, and that California should reap the advantages and honor of making the conversion.

The Hon. W. Maynard, U. S. Senator from Tennessee, another of the committee, stated that he considered the advent of these people among us and their remarkable ability in learning our language and habits, as a matter of great importance in furthering the interests of the United States in Asia, and that if the people of California would only view the matter in a proper light, and take advantage of their cheap labor, the Chinese would be a more permanent benefit to the State than its gold and silver mines.

So eager are these people to learn our language and religion, that on any Sabbath day we may see hundreds of them, including old men, conversant with all the subtleties of the abstruse philosophy of Confucius, men—who in the intricacies of trade and commerce, are the equals of the shrewdest merchants of any nation—sitting

at the feet of white children, with marvelous patience striving to learn how to pronounce our alphabet. The man who visits one of these Chinese schools and sees the eager zeal of these people to learn, and marks the progress they are making, denies the evidence of his senses, when he asserts that they are incapable of learning our language, habits or customs. But, then, probably those who make such random assertions do not depend on the evidence of their senses, or any other evidence, as authority for anything they say.

It is estimated by gentlemen, long residents in China, that there are more than ten millions of its native inhabitants who are Roman Catholics. There is scarcely a denomination of Protestants but has missionaries at work converting these people to Christianity. The Christian people of the United States annually expenp hundreds of thousands of dollars in this noble work.

Some of the witnesses on the other side have alleged that the Chinese language is incomprehensible and barbarous—so much so as to prevent communication.

This language, so strange to us, is spoken in China, Japan, Cochin China, Siam, Corea, and to a considerable extent in Russia and Thibet, by more than four hundred and fifty millions of people, or more than half the inhabitants of the globe, and is not a whit more incomprehensible to the majority of the opponents of Chinese labor, than is the French, German, Spanish or Italian.

During the time I had the honor of occupying the position of secretary of the Labor Exchange in this city, I was frequently called upon to give advice or to find employment for immigrants from France, Germany and Italy, who could neither speak nor understand a word of English, and were as much barbarians, according to this linguistic standard, as the Chinese.

Are the Chinese incapable of understanding our political system? Let us see.

The government of China is probably the purest democracy existing. Its fundamental principle and axiom is, "that the will of the people is the will of heaven." In that country, the children of the lowest and poorest classes may attain the highest offices. Learning and zeal being the only avenues to promotion. In that country the schools are free to all, and education universal. You will never find a Chinaman unable to read or write his name. Can we say as much of many of those who have emigrated from other countries, and who are loudest in denouncing the Chinese as barbarians?

Their moral and social habits are alleged to be injurious to the community.

The general observance of the Sabbath by the Christian employers of Chinese labor, causes hundreds of these people to be idle on that day. Crowds of them may be seen on any Sunday afternoon on Sacramento, Dupont, Jackson, or Commercial Streets, all dressed clean and tidy. The first case of disorder or drunkenness among them on such occasions has yet to be recorded. If men who behave thus are heathen, barbarians, might not many so-called civilized Christians take a useful lesson from them in behavior on the Sabbath day?

Mr. Casserly, who cannot be charged with being in favor of the Chinese, says they are frugal, intelligent and industrious. These very expressive adjectives admit of but one construction, universally recognized wherever the English language is understood. If the Chinese exhibit these qualities to such an extent as to create alarm in the mind of a gentleman holding the position of a United States Senator, then I hold that there must be a radical defect in the political system that requires the

expulsion of men because they are frugal, skillful and industrious, merely because they sell their labor cheaply.

Professor Raphael Pumpelly, a gentleman well known in California, who resided several years in China, in pursuit of scientific knowledge, as a geologist, in a lecture delivered in New York last month, stated that the Chinese are a highly civilized nation. Their moral and political systems are models, in many respects worthy the imitation of the people of the western world. Old age is respected, virtue honored, intemperance unknown; that during a journey of nearly five thousand miles through the interior of that country, he never saw a drunken man or woman. The love of their children is the predominating trait in the Chinese character. It is true the best class of the Chinese do not come among us, because we treat them so badly.

Much and well grounded complaint is made against the importation of a class of the Chinese females, who are a danger and disgrace to this community. But the Chinese are not responsible for their coming. They are brought here by white men, as a matter of speculation. The agents of the six companies, who watch over the affairs of the Chinese in this State, feel as much or more disgusted by the conduct of these wretched women than the most refined Caucassian. These Chinese merchants have repeatedly petitioned the city and State authorities to prevent these women landing. They have paid the passage of hundreds of them to have them sent back. The protests and petitions of the respectable Chinese against the landing of these women have been frequently published in all the city papers. But the efforts of the Chinese to abate an evil, by which white men profit, failed, till the Chinese government, when informed of the facts, took steps to prevent the kidnapping of these women.

Well may Mr. Johnson say that the Chinese feel a

contempt for our government; are they not justified in doing so, when our local and State authorities permit the landing of these women against the will and wishes of the decent Chinese merchants, because certain white men reaped large profits in the nefarious traffic? But you will not be troubled with any more of this class of women. The Government of the United States and China have put a stop to the infamous trade. But is it not unjust to condemn the Chinese as a class, because these women have been brought here under such circumstances? The Chinese do not rule the State; have no voice in its government. The officers intrusted with the execution of the laws have neglected their duty, or these Chinese prostitutes could never have been allowed to land in this city. The whole power of the State would be evoked to expell a poor settler from his homestead, perhaps occupied for years, if the land on which it stood had been bought, under his feet, by some wealthy land grabber; but no effort worthy of a great State has been made to keep out a pestilence, because it is made a profit for somebody, having power to blind the eyes and to grease the palms of justice.

The assertion that the Chinese are an inferior race of men is not a new cry to raise against a people held in subjection. It is as old as the history of man. The Assyrians, Greeks, Romans, Persians, Egyptians, Normans, Scandinavians, Russians and Spaniards have all maintained this doctrine of the inferiority of those held in subjection. But what a refutation of the principle is presented when it is examined by the clear light of history.

The ancient nations have been nearly blotted out of existence. The remnants and monuments of them that remain are preserved in the persons of the races, once held in subjection by them.

The Britons were held for centuries as an inferior race

by their Danish, Norman and Roman conquerors. To day they are among the foremost races on earth, in energy enterprise and intelligence. The Irish were for centuries held as an inferior race by their Saxon rulers—"the hereditary bondsmen," as their great leader, Daniel O'Connell, used to call them—here, on this soil consecrated to freedom, exhibit capabilities for improvement unsurpassed by the immigrants from any other country. Yet less than a century ago, the Irish in England—aye in Ireland, on the beautiful green sod of their native land—were despised and hated by the English as much, or more than the Irish hate and despise the Chinese. During the reign of Georges, the III and IV, the Parliament, press and pulpit of England and Ireland, resounded with the assertion that the Celtic was inferior to the Saxon race. It is not more than twenty years ago that the cry resounded through the length and breadth of this great republic of, "Down with the Irish, America for the Americans!" and similar party cries. From Maine to California, the know-nothing party denounced the Irish just as the Irish here denounce the Chinese, and on a platform, made up of prejudice and hatred, elected a president, Congress and several State legislatures in hostility to the Irish, because they apprehended danger from their influx. The great State of Massachusetts, which has profited more by the labors of Irish men and women in its factories and workshops, than any other State in the Union, passed a law making it necessary for an Irishman to have resided in the country 21 years before he could be naturalized.

Even in this golden State of California we had a know-nothing governor and legislature, who lost their power through attempting to proscribe Irishmen, because they were foreigners, and their religious belief was considered dangerous to republicanism. The very same men who are now leading the Irishmen against the Chinese, were

the leaders of the know-nothing party. It is the nature of such men to look upon all foreigners as their inferiors, while, in truth, they are themselves the very lowest types of American manhood.

The nation has grown wiser and more liberal since those days. Massachusetts has erased the enactment against the Irish from her statute books ; and in this State you will not meet a man who is willing to acknowledge that he had been a know-nothing. So will it be in this State, with reference to the Chinese, within twenty years ; aye, within ten there will not be an intelligent Irishman in it but will be ashamed that he objected to Chinese immigration, or persecuted unoffending Chinamen.

The Poles, a nation of as high intellectual and moral culture, and with as honorable a history as any people on earth, are held as an inferior race by Russia.

The Jews, who are among the most enterprising and intelligent elements of our cosmopolitan population, are held as an inferior race, by nearly all the nations on the continent of Europe.

The negro, so long held as a chattel, denied the right to assert his manhood, in this now free country, though the scars of the whip and branding iron are scarcely healed on his back, and the load of ignorance is not yet removed from his mind, since his recognition as an equal with all men in the great race for wealth and happiness, has demonstrated that he, too, has capacity for improvement.

So will it be with the Chinese, when we learn to recognize their rights to be treated as other men ; they will prove themselves equal in all that aids in increasing the national wealth and prosperity, to any other of the exotic races that enter into the composition of our heterogeneous population.

The idea of inferiority of the mongolians does not ex-

ist to any extent outside of California. The editor of the *Alaska Herald*, a highly educated gentleman, stated in that paper on the 12th of July last, that the Cossacks, the ablest soldiers in the Russian armies, are pure mongolians. That he himself was a cossack, and a mongolian, but a citizen of the United States. Many of the highest civil and military officers in the service of Russia are mongolians, refined gentlemen and christians.

Sir Frederick Bruce, when minister from England to the Court of China, stated, at a public meeting in England, that some of the native ministers, at the Chinese Court, were the superiors in intellectual ability to the diplomats of any other nation in the world.

When the transcontinental railroad was about to be finished, an incident occurred which illustrated in a remarkable manner the equality of the races in the field of physical labor. Of the last four rails that completed that great national work, two were laid by Chinamen employed by the Central Pacific Railroad Company, and two by Irishmen, employed by the Union Railroad Company. So that in the very centre of the American continent, as it were, the sinewy arms of laborers born in Europe and Asia had the honor of finishing a work that will ever remain a monument of American genius and enterprise, the mongolians and celt only obeyed the advanced intelligence of their American employers.

The London *Times*, commenting on Mr. Casserly's estimate of the Chinese, says:

"The conflict of races in California cannot be solved by heavy duties on immigration, or by street outrages. It is impossible to suppose the Chinese can be kept out of America. Inheriting an ancient civilization perfect economic methods, but destitute of toughness and strength of moral fibre which supports authority. The Chinese may be welcomed as assistants in colonization, not feared as a race like to dominate in the future."

In Boston, Massachusetts, in 1868, a Chinaman, who had long been a resident of that city, was naturalized, and became a citizen of the United States.

According to the St. Louis *Democrat*, of August, 1869, there are in the parish of St. Bernard, La., two colonies of Chinamen who came from the Phillipine Islands several years ago. These men are all Catholics, and married to Irish wives; have families, and make a comfortable living by their labor. They all have their names on the State Register, and vote as other citizens.

There are about three hundred Chinese in New York City, most of whom are married to Irish or German women, and are spoken of favorably by the New York papers.

A Chinese Bishop, with a tail on the back of his head, is one of the features of the Ecumenical Council.

In this city, Father Thomas, a Chinaman, officiated as a Catholic priest for several years, and was very popular among his parishioners.

At Vincennes, Indiana, they have a Chinese Methodist minister, who is said to be a most devout Christian and profound scholar.

Nearly 5,000 Chinese are settled in the vicinity of Boise city, Idaho, where they are much respected for their industry and for the great virtue of minding their own business.

Governor McCook, of Colorado, in his last message to the legislature of that territory, thus refers to the Chinese:

"They may be an inferior race, and lower in natural traits than ourselves, but, notwithstanding, they are exceedingly muscular; and if we can first avail ourselves of their muscle, we can attend to their habits and their morals afterwards. They will supply what this country eminently needs—an abundance of cheap labor; and as they will come to us in the future, anyhow, whether we will or not, we, of this generation, may as well welcome them and derive what benefit we can from their labors.

I firmly believe they are the people destined to solve the great problem, as to the future of that vast unpeopled country between the Missouri river and the Pacific ocean."

The hostility towards the Chinese in this State is of quite recent origin. In the early times they were received by our leading citizens with distinguished consideration. Governor Burnett thought them of sufficient importance to make them a special public address of thanks and welcome. They used to take part in our 4th of July and other processions, in which the gorgeous attire of the wealthy Chinese merchants of those days formed a conspicuous and interesting feature.

In January, 1853, at the conclusion of a lecture on China, delivered in this city by Rev. Mr. Speer, the Hon. H. H. Haight, the present governor of this State, offered a set of resolutions, which were unanimously adopted by a large and influential meeting. Of these resolutions I will read you a portion:

"*Resolved*, That the present position of the Oriental nations is fraught with the most profound interest to the Christian world, and that we, as citizens of California, placed by the wonderful leadings of Providence so immediately in contact with one of the most ancient, intelligent and populous of these nations, hail with peculiar satisfaction the "signs of the times;" and that we feel an imperative obligation to employ our money, our influence and utmost effort for the welfare of that vast portion of the human family—*our elder brethren*—the people of China.

*Resolved*, That we regard with pleasure the presence of great numbers of these people among us, as affording the best opportunity of doing them good, and through them of exerting our influence upon their native land."

When the Burlingame mission from China were in this city, on their way to the courts of every civilized nation, they were invited to a grand banquet, given by the leading citizens of the State. At that banquet, Mr. Haight, as a proof that his opinions have not changed

on the Chinese question, said to these Chinese gentlemen:

"As the chief magistrate of this State, I welcome you to this city. You have accepted a mission in the interest of progress, of commerce and of humanity. I bid you on behalf of this nation, on behalf of Europe, on behalf of humanity itself, a hearty welcome and God speed."

It was not till the Chinese were drawn into politics, as a substitute for the negro, that a word of objection was raised against them.

And to the honor of our worthy governor, he said that it is chiefly to his influence that the Chinese were permitted to testify in our State and municipal courts, against white men, prior to the proclamation of the Fifteenth Amendment of the Federal Constitution.

I might go on for an hour, citing facts to prove that the Chinese are not barbarians, incapable of learning our language, habits and customs; but I think I have stated sufficient to satisfy any intelligent judge or juror on this point.

If the class of Chinese we have among us are not as good as those that go to other States and countries, we have ourselves to blame.

Is it reasonable to expect that men who are sufficiently intelligent to successfully complete with us as laborers, mechanics and merchants, will fail to imitate our vices too? Is setting dogs to worry them, encouraging vagabond boys to pelt stones at them in the public streets, denying them the protection of the laws against robbers and murderers, the best way to civilize these people?

Men are like pebbles on the sea beach. Each is rough and angular when first separated from its parent stock. It is by the attrition of the ceaseless ebbing and flowing of the tide and storms of life that they become rounded and smooth, and polish one another. The harder specimens wear away the softer ones, receiving

the greater polish in the operation. So with men. It matters not whether born in America, Asia, Europe or Africa, they show this true grain and grit only after much rubbing and polishing. Those who fear the attrition of other races, will never attain all the polish they are capable of sustaining. They lack the sand that gives it.

The third and most important charge in the list is, that the Chinese work for less wages than white men and women, and, by so doing, deprive the latter of employment, and thus injure the State.

As the reply to this charge is the special object of this lecture, I shall devote as much of my time as possible to its consideration; and shall endeavor to prove to your satisfaction, if granted a hearing, that Chinese labor is not the unmitigated evil it is represented to be, and will explain how this labor might be turned to the benefit of the State, and to its white laboring classes.

Unless the fundamental principle of the science of political economy be false, labor is the basis of the wealth of nations. If this be true, we must injure ourselves when we reject this source of wealth by rejecting the services of a hardy, industrious, intelligent, and obedient class of laborers, because they are not of the same race as ourselves, and are willing to sell their labor at a lower price than we hold our own!

There are certain rules, or principles, which govern intelligent men in their intercourse with each other everywhere. It is such a rule that any article is worth what it will sell for, neither more or less. Labor is governed by this inflexible law, as much as gold, cotton, iron, coal, wheat, or any other commodity.

We cannot increase the value of labor, everywhere, by restricting the supply in any particular locality. It is the sheerest folly—a folly that could not exist for a day, were it not that prejudice converts our reason into

obstinacy, to attempt to maintain a higher standard of value for labor in California, than rules in the other States of our common country—by excluding the cheaper labor of the Chinese. We can no more accomplish such a result, by such means, than we can make wheat or wool dearer here, than they are at New York or Liverpool, by refusing to sell these articles at the price offered for them in those markets.

The laboring man has the same right to refuse to sell his services at the price offered for them by employers, as the farmer has to hold his grain, or the storekeeper his goods, for a higher price. But he has no *more right* to prevent the employer going into a cheaper market to obtain a supply of labor, than the farmer has to prevent the Liverpool or New York merchants buying wheat at a lower price than he is willing to sell *his* grain for. There is this difference, however, between the laborer and the merchant or the farmer; wheat and merchandize are real property, of value at any time, may be stored away for an indefinite time, and insured against loss; while the value of labor is never realized till it is used. Every day that a laborer or mechanic remains unemployed, the value of his labor is irrecoverably lost to himself and to the community of which he is a member, and thus it becomes a public question. Labor usually forms fifty per cent. of the cost of manufactured goods. Is not the manufacturer justified then in buying his labor, the most costly of his materials, in the cheapest market, as he buys his cotton, leather or iron? To deny them this right is to drive them out of the State. It is the denial of this right that causes us to send our wool, leather, hides, and other raw materials out of the State and to re-import them in the shape of manufactured goods, we paying all the expenses of freight, insurance, cost of labor, and the profits of the manufacturer, importer, jobber and retailer This, and only this sys-

tem, is the cause of the want of employment among the working classes in this city.

It is but a flimsy pretense to charge the Chinese with driving mechanics out of employment. How many Chinese are carpenters, builders, bricklayers, masons, hod carriers, iron molders, boiler makers, machinists, or work at any of the trades the artisans in which are now out of employment? Not one. How many Chinese work at street grading, or leveling the sand hills? Not one. How many of them work about the shipping and wharves along the water front? Not one. Then how absurd it is to charge those who do not enter into competition with the classes of workmen who are out of employ, with being the cause of their idleness.

It is the hostility towards these industrious people that causes the lack of employment for mechanics and artisans. Capitalists are indisposed to erect factories or to establish any business dependent upon a supply of manual labor, so long as the supply is controlled by an unreasoning mob, influenced by demagogues ready to sacrifice every public and private interest in order to obtain office.

The Chinese are chiefly employed at work which white men would not do for the wages manufacturers can afford to pay. Were we to drive them out of these employments to-day, we should increase the number of unemployed white men and women by many hundreds, because it is the cheap labor of these people that sustains the little manufacturing industry that struggles for existence among us.

The poorest, most miserable Chinese chiffonier, who goes into all the dark and dirty places gathering up rags, scraps of paper, iron, glass and other unconsidered trifles—which white people, in their extravagance, throw away—does more to sustain and encourage our home manufactures than does the well dressed demagogue

who uses his influence to prevent the employment of Chinese labor. Rags are essential in the manufacture of paper. New glass cannot be made without scraps of old materials. The costly rolling mills, which make the iron used by thousands of mechanics in this city, could not do so without scraps of that metal—the smaller the better. It is *these* that the patient, plodding Chinese collect; white men would not perform such services. It is not desirable that they should; yet you see they are necessary for the successful carrying on of important manufactures, which give employment to hundreds of white men and women. And so it is throughout the whole catalogue of industries which build up the prosperity of communties. The raw materials may be prepared by the lowest race of men; but it requires a higher intelligence to increase the value of these materials by skill, enterprise, trade and commerce.

The Chinese will contribute largely to our wealth, and to that of the nation, by their saving of materials; and will teach us how to be better off upon less wages by being more economical in our habits.

Is it essential that we use only the purest water to generate steam to give motion to machinery? Will not the muddiest stream that flows impart motion to the machinery for manufacturing the daintiest of fabrics?

It would be just as reasonable to reject steam because not generated with perfectly pure water, or to keep the machinery of a cotton or silk mill idle, because only muddy water can be had to set it in motion, as it is to reject Chinese labor, because we consider these people of an inferior race, and they offer to work cheaper than their superiors.

We do not act upon such a principle ourselves when we want to purchase anything. There is not a man or woman among us, who, wishing to purchase a coat, dress, bucket, broom, coil of rope, or a steam engine,

but seeks to purchase them as cheaply as we can. We never ask who made them so long as they are of good quality, and are reasonable in price. How can we hope for any increase in our manufacting industry, without which the employment of labor must always be restricted, if we insist upon paying our laborer two dollars per day, while our competitors can employ their labor at seventy-five cents per day?

The discovery of steam, as a motive power, would have been of limited importance had it not been applied to manufacturing purposes. It came directly in conflict with labor, and met with the same hostility as Chinese labor meets here, by the same classes and for the same reasons, that it was feared it would cheapen human labor by decreasing the demand.

It is estimated that there are steam engines employed in manufactures and agriculture in the United States and England, equal to the force of one hundred millions of men. Has this immense increase in the working force injured the laborers in these countries? I should say not. Nor will any force of Chinese laborers injure the white working men of California, if this labor be judiciously employed. The lowering the price of labor and products in this State, by the aid of these people, taken in connection with the rise of both in Europe, owing to immigration to this country, will place us on a superior footing to the manufacturers of Europe, and prevent the importation of manufactured goods, the payment for which absorbs our capital and prevents the employment of labor.

There is an astonishing amount of ignorance prevailing on this question of labor and its value.

In the course of a debate in the U. S. House of Representatives, as recently as April last, the Hon. James Brooks asserted that the Chinese labor in California was the cheapest in the world. That any gentleman

holding a seat in the National Councils could make such a statement, is a strong proof of this ignorance.

Chinese labor is relatively cheaper in this State than white labor; but it is much dearer than white or negro labor in the South, or than any kind of labor in Europe.

The average wages of common Chinese laborers in this State, is thirty dollars per month in gold. From a carefully prepared report on the subject of wages in the United States, issued by the National Agricultural Department, we learn that the same class of white laborers are paid twenty-nine dollars per month in Pennsylvania, twenty-eight dollars in Ohio, twenty-seven dollars in Indiana, and twenty-eight dollars in Illinois and Iowa. The average for the whole nation being twenty-eight dollars for white, and sixteen dollars for colored laborers, and these rates in currency.

Professor Leone Levi, one of the greatest authorities in the world on the subject of labor and wages, gives the average price of common labor at twenty-two dollars and a half per month in England, twenty dollars in Scotland and fourteen dollars in Ireland. In France, Belgium and Germany the average does not exceed ten dollars per month. In Russia, only about six dollars; yet here are we striving to use force to drive out laborers who are paid thirty dollars per month, because, forsooth, their labor is cheap according to our standard!

The very class of laborers, whom we despise for working cheaper than white men, are being sought by the employers of other States, who pay them fifty per cent. more than they pay other laborers, for the very qualities of docility, industry and intelligence, for which they are denounced by senators, congressmen, editors, lawyers and demagogues in this State.

The Chinese taken from this State to Texas, are paid thirty dollars per month, in gold, and their traveling

expenses, when white laborers in that State are considered dear at twenty-five dollars per month, in currency.

There are several parties now in this city negotiating for a large number of Chinese to be employed in factories, farms and railroads in the Southern and Western States.

A convention of citizens of South Carolina, held, during the present month, to consider this very question, thus reports:

"Chinese labor is not an experiment, because in Louisiana it has been tried with great success, and very much to the satisfaction of those who have procured it. The Chinese laborer has shown himself industrious, frugal, obedient and attentive to the interests of his employers. We think the Chinaman cannot be surpassed either as servants or laborers by any others, whether you place him in the house, the garden, the field, or the workshop, or on the railroad."

If we refuse to employ them because their labor is cheap, we cannot prevent manufacturers in other States hiring them, and how shall we stand as competitors in this market, when those who employ Chinese can undersell us twenty-five per cent. by the difference in the cost between Chinese and white labor.

The British ship Niagara, just arrived in our harbor, brings five hundred and thirty-five Chinese laborers *en route* to New Orleans. Sensible men would profit by such an example. The citizens of Louisiana send to China, and, at heavy expense, import the very class of laborers who come to us at their own expense.

It is a serious misfortune for individuals or communities to over-estimate their own importance, because it necessitates the disagreeable operation of *coming down*. It is estimated that there are forty-two millions of people in the United States at this time. Of this immense number, less than one million reside in the States and

Territories west of the Rocky mountains, including Colorado, Idaho, Montana, Utah, Arizona, New Mexico, Alaska and Washington Territories, California, Oregon and Nevada. Now supposing all the people on the pacific slope were a unit in hating the Chinese, and in the wish to prevent their coming here, what would their wishes amount to when compared to the voice of the forty-one millions in the north, west and south, whose representatives in Congress have voted a liberal subsidy to support a line of steamers, and given a hundred million of dollars towards the construction of the grandest work of the age—the American transcontinental railroad—for the purpose of increasing the closeness of our connection with the nations of Asia? Can we reasonably expect that the majority of the people of the United States will be influenced by the unreasonable demands of a few deluded men in this State, and sever the present friendly relations with China?

It cannot be denied that Chinese labor competes with white women in the department of domestic servants. But it would be very difficult to demonstrate to a man having a wife and family to support on a salary of say one hundred to one hundred and fifty dollars per month, that it is not more to his interest to employ a clean, obedient and competent Chinaman, at eight to ten dollars per month, than it is to have a white lady at twenty-five to thirty dollars?

There are hundreds of families in this city, in which the mistress is physically unable to attend to her children and do the housework, in which there would be absolute suffering and misery, were it not for the cheap services of the Chinese. A family consisting of a man, his wife, and half a dozen children cannot obtain a good white female servant at any price. Familes residing in the country would be even worse off than those in the city, were it not for the Chinamen, because very few of

the white female servants will go into the country on any consideration.

A good mechanic, clerk, or storeman is considered fairly paid at the rate of one hundred dollars per month; out of which, if he has a family, he has to pay house rent, taxes, and to support and clothe his family. If one of this class of citizens be compeled to hire a servant, if she be a white woman, she will demand twenty-five dollars per month, with board and lodging. Now I hold that such a woman is far better off than her master, and gets more than a fair share of the profits of his labor; and such a man has a perfect right to curtail his expenses, and to increase the comforts of his family by hiring a Chinaman for half the money demanded by the white woman. Were I published on every street corner in the city, by a secret or public society, for so doing, I should ask the members of such a society what they were going to do about it?

Mr. Pixley, last Saturday evening, made a moving appeal in behalf of the washerwoman, whose occupation he insisted had been ruined by the Chinese, and there are possibly some people who believed him.

Let us look into this washtub question, its bearings on the question of Chinese labor, because it affords a familiar illustration of that question. The people of San Francisco annually spend a million of dollars for washing and ironing; that is, estimating that one hundred thousand of the one hundred and fifty thousand inhabitants in this city give their washing out; it is not an over estimate to reckon that each pays eighty cents per month.

A few years ago, a washerwoman having a good run of custom, could earn more than a first-class mechanic. The price of washing was so high, that as every old resident of the city will remember, it was considered cheaper buying new socks, handkerchiefs and underclothes, than it was to have the old ones washed. The

fortunes of many a rich man in this city, sprang from the suds in his wife's washtub.

The high price of washing invited competition. The Chinese entered the field and reduced the price one-half. But within the past few years, white men, gentlemen of capital and business ability, have entered the field, and by the use of machinery and organization, do the washing cheaper than the Chinese.

The San Francisco Laundry Company is a corporation having a capital of fifty thousand dollars; and there are other washing companies in this city having an aggregate capital of upwards of half a million of dollars, which are rapidly monopolizing this business, because they do it cheaper than anybody else. The working classes are the greatest gainers by this competition, and I will explain how. The rich people do not send their washing out, it is always done at home by their servants; consequently, it is only the working classes that sustain the laundries, the Chinamen, and white washerwomen. If, therefore, as I have stated, the annual expenses of washing exceed a million of dollars, when the price is reduced so much that Mr. Pixley is moved almost to tears by the losses of his friends—the white washerwomen—all the other classes of working people have benefitted by the wholesome reduction.

And so it is in every department of business. The cheaper anything can be done, made or produced, the better it is for employers and consumers.

The introduction of machinery has done away with the old spinning wheel and hand-loom, and thrown hundreds of old women out of work. The construction of railroads did away with stage coaches and the heavy teams that used to crowd the roads in the New England States, and deprived thousands of teamsters of employment. Every new invention, every improvement in

agricultural machinery, interferes with some branch of human labor. There were hundreds of occupations which gave employment to labor twenty or thirty years ago which no longer exist, the work being better and more cheaply done by machinery—the cheapest kind of labor. But the world moves on, and each generation of its people enjoys more blessings, more comforts and conveniences than its predecessors, through this cheap labor.

When Mr. Pixley—copying from Congressman Johnson—asserted that cheap labor is degrading, he grossly insulted the laboring men of the east, west, and of Europe, and the intelligent among his audience.

Why do we annually import millions of dollars worth of manufactured goods from Europe, and pay for them in raw materials? Because the difference in the price of labor in that country and this State gives the European manufacturers the control of this market, notwithstanding we have a tariff that protects home manufactures by levying a duty of fifty per cent. on the value of foreign goods.

If free trade were the rule, we should not be able to manufacture a single article in the United States, because the cheap labor of Europe would enable the foreign manufacturers to undersell us in everything.

We have the highest priced labor in California that there is in the world; are its people prosperous in consequence? Let the unsightly processions which paraded through the streets of the city a few weeks since—when thousands of men tumultously demanded bread or work, whom the demagogues who controled them, declared were starving—be the answer to this question.

Mr. Pixley, last Saturday evening, made the extraordinary statement, that if he had the power, he would make the rich divide their property with the poor, and

declared that the federal government should do this thing.

There could not have been a sensible person in that audience but must have smiled at the idea of a lawyer, a gentleman aspiring to a seat in Congress, making such a silly, stupid statement.

The outcry raised against the experiment to carry out some such idea on a small scale, when six thousand dollars of the taxpayers' money was thrown away by hiring high priced labor to do nothing in the city park, showed that the people who have acquired property by their heads or hands, do not approve of the idea of giving it away for nothing.

The Chinese are accused of bringing their clothing with them, or importing them from China, and thus sending their money out of the State.

Without enlarging on the fact that it comes with an ill grace from a *civilized* community that annually imports nearly forty million dollars of materials for its own clothing, to charge such a practice as an offense against foreign barbarians, I will tell you something about this Chinese clothes bussiness:

We annually export millions of bales of cotton from the southern States to Europe, where it is converted into cloth by the cheap labor of that country; and with its value increased fifty per cent. by this labor, it is exported—to where do you think? Why to Asia and China. Five-eights of all the cotton manufactured in England is sent to India and China; so that it is safe to say that fully three-fourths of the clothing worn by the Chinese in this State, made from cloth manufactured in England, from raw material grown in the United States.

Now we can raise cotton in the valleys, and on the foot hills of this State, but it is unprofitable to do so at present, because there is no home market for it, and

we cannot grow it cheap enough to compete with countries where labor is cheaper than it is here.

Suppose we had thousands of Chinamen cultivating cotton, and thousands more of them weaving it into cloth, and by their cheap labor we could sell it at as low price as England or Massachusetts, which we could do, we might build up an industry that would afford employment for millions of white people, though not one of them worked within a mile of a cotton field or mill.

Now let us look at the charge made against the Chinese, that they do not spend their earnings in this country, but injure the State by sending their money out of it.

The Chinese are human beings, though some people don't appear to think so. They have parents, wives and children in their native land. Is it a crime for them to remember their "old folks at home?"

The most admirable trait in the character of the Irish and German immigrants, is their love of the "ould country," and "Faderland."

I remember reading in the papers years ago, as a deserved compliment to the Irish men and women in America, that they annually sent ten millions of dollars to their poor relatives in Ireland, and few blame them for spending millions to aid the Fenians.

It is the most enobling virtue in a white man to love his kindred, and the land of his birth; does such a virtue become a vice when exhibited by a Chinaman!

If it be a crime to send our money out of the State, we must all plead guilty of such an offense, for we have taken upwards of a thousand millions of gold and silver out of our mines in the past twenty years, and sent so much of it out of the State that there is not enough remaining to conduct our business.

"Father, forgive them, they know not what they do." The language of the Savior towards his persecutors,

might well be applied to those that persecute the Chinese, because they are willing to work cheaper than white men, and who proscribe those who employ them.

The woman, whose husband goes to his daily toil at the rising of the sun, and returns not to his home till its going down, whose younger children are too small to be left alone, and the elder one perhaps writhing on a bed of sickness, looks upon the Chinese vegetable or fish peddler who comes to her door to sell his fish or vegetables, as a benefactor, because he enables her to avoid going to the store several blocks off, and sells his stuff cheaper than white men. There are hundreds of mothers in this city so circumstanced.

It is the poor who most benefit by the cheap labor of the Chinese. Because it is they who are compelled to buy the cheapest articles they can find.

The outcry raised against these people by demagogues and some members of the press, is not for the benefit of the poor working classes, but to enable such disturbers of the public welfare to gain office or profit. These people act on the principle that, in all fermentations, the scum rises to the surface; and they expect to rise by creating a ferment on this Chinese question.

This is well illustrated by the conduct of the last Legislature, which rode into power by appealing to the prejudices of the working classes on this Chinese labor question. The majority of its members stood pledged to do something severe against the Chinese. With an overwhelming majority in both houses, and a Governor who would not veto any reasonable bill on that subject. What did they do? Nothing, save making shameful speeches and mouthing buncombe. They did not pass a single bill restricting the immigration or employment of the Chinese; for the very good reason that they knew that such laws would be ineffectual. But the *talk* on

the subject possibly satisfies most of those who are so unreasonable as to object to Chinese labor.

I am pained at the course pursued by some of the papers published in this city on this great question, for I have a great respect, almost a veneration for the press. Because, when honorably conducted, it is the most potent shield the poor have against the oppression of the rich. But I despise and detest those vermin in the profession of journalism who prostitute their abilities to serve the single purpose of making money for the illiterate and illiberal owners of the types and office of a newspaper.

The province of a newspaper in the body politic, is not unlike that of the detective officer. Its duty is to watch over the public welfare, to see that citizens are not plundered and injured by combinations and rings, which menace the public rights; to submit the proofs of every charge to the public; to supply the people with the news from abroad and at home. When the press does this, it performs its duty well. But when it assumes to make charges it cannot sustain by proofs, and performs the duties of judges and executioners of the reputation of individuals; or to serve its private purposes, betrays the public interests; then the press becomes a pestilent, scourge and an abomination.

The way *we* treat the Chinese is pretty generally known, and I shall not enlarge on that matter. But let me tell you how the Chinese treat citizens of the United States in that country.

The Hon. James L. Kiernan, an Irish adopted citizen, who resided many years in China, as a U. S. Consul, in a letter published in this city, says: That during my residence in China, I have had much experience among these people; traveled through their Empire extensively: and can state without fear of refutation from any fair and descerning party, that the

Chinese prefer the Americans to all other foreigners residing in their country.

The fact that the Imperial court in China refused to receive an English prince, while it honored an American citizen with an office the noblest statesman in the world might be proud to fill, is a proof of this preference for Americans. Dr. Thein, an English surgeon, long a resident of China, and vice president of the Royal Asiatic Society of Europe, who came to this city by the last steamer from China, *en route* to England, overland, sat with me last Saturday, and heard Mr. Pixley's abuse of the Chinese, which he characterized as a scandalous libel on a people who heap favors on the Americans. The worthy Doctor assured me that merchants from all other countries envied the Americans the privileges they enjoyed in China.

The citizens of this republic enjoy the almost exclusive steam navigation of the inland waters of that great empire. Hundreds of steamers, built by American mechanics, and millions of dollars worth of machinery, made by American artisans, are to be found in China. American engineers and men of enterprise are even now negotiating for contracts to construct railroads, telegraphs, machinery for factories, for opening mines, and other great works, which will give employment to thousands of Americans to supervise. How will such men be able to explain the conduct of their fellow citizens in this State towards the Chinese here?

The most influential man in China to-day is a naturalized citizen of the United States, an Irishman by birth, named Hart, who holds the position of Inspector General of the Imperial Maritime Customs, and exercises more influence over the immense commerce of that mighty empire, than the emperor himself.

But the greatest honor ever conferred upon an American citizen by a foreign power, was when China, the

oldest nation in existence, selected Mr. Burlingame, a citizen of the youngest nation, to represent its interests before the courts of every kingdom and republic in the world; and thus gave a citizen of this republic the power to shape the foreign policy of a nation, whose trade sustains the factories and commerce of one half of Europe. A position so loyal a citizen as that lamented gentleman has turned to the advantage of his native land.

Shall we turn aside all these advantages by encouraging the prejudices of a little faction of men in this State?

I have not time to give details relating to the commerce between the United States and China. Its importance may be inferred from the fact, that the Ithmus of Suez has been intersected by a canal costing millions of dollars, by France, to compete in this commerce.

England is building a railroad across Honduras, and all nations are united in their desire for the speedy completion of the Darien Canal; and every maritime nation subsidizes a line of steamers to win this trade from San Francisco, which, by nature and art, is placed nearer to China than any port in Europe. With the great Transcontinental Railroad and the Pacific Mail Steamers, the teas, silks and spices of China can be landed in London in but little more than half the time required by any other route.

This mighty trade which gives the nation controling it, the command of the commerce of the world, is ours, if we do not drive it from our doors, by unfairly treating the Asiatics residing among us.

The United States annually import upwards of one hundred million dollars' worth of tea, silk and rice. All these articles may be produced in this State to any extent. The germ of all these great sources of wealth has taken root among us already, and if cultivated by the

experienced and cheap labor of the people born in the country where these products are indigenous, may make California one of the wealthiest States in the Union.

Those who believe in "manifest destiny" and the "Monroe doctrine," by glancing to the south, may see a magnificent, broad domain, gorgeous in its tropical vendure, and teeming with metallic riches, which is destined in the fullness of time to become part of our country. In the enervating clime of that great domain, the labor of the Chinese will be more valuable than that of the white man, because of its better adaptation. We do not wish to make Mexico a Chinese colony. It is better for us to Americanize a generation of Chinamen, teach them to love and honor our free institutions, and then draft them, when disciplined in the principles of liberty, into our new possessions, when they fall into our hands.

In reply to the charge that the Chinese are coolies, I have to say that it is very easy to convert a very simple word into a very complex one. The word coolie, in India and China, means the lower class of laborers, and applies to their vocation, not to their condition; just as we call men who work in the mines, miners. But in this State the word coolie has been made to imply a slave or bond servant.

There is no possibility of the Chinese coming here in any other condition than that of absolute freedom, unless all the United States officers, here and in China, neglect their duties.

Every minister and consul from the United States in China, is held personally responsible that no Chinaman leaves any port in that empire for this country, except as a freeman. Severe penalties are inflicted upon any person, who shall bring any Chinaman here in bonds. The vessel bringing such a passenger is liable to confisca-

tion, and a large moiety of its value would be given to the informer, upon conviction.

The 5th article of the last treaty between the United States and China makes it a penal offense, to take a Chinese subject out of that country against his will.

It is the duty of those, who assert that the Chinese are held in bondage, to report every such case to the municipal or federal authorites.

In September, 1867, the collector of the customs at this port, acting under instructions from the Federal Government, advertized in all the city papers for several weeks, for any person who could prove that any Chinaman was held in bondage in this city. As no person offered to furnish such proof, it is certain that no such thing existed, or that those who insist that the Chinese are coolies, or slaves, failed to do their duty as good citizens, by not proving the existence of an evil they so loudly denounce.

It may be true that some of them come here under engagements, such as the California Immigrant Union advertise. This society offers to bring white women from Europe as domestic servants, for whoever will advance one hundred and twenty dollars to pay their expenses. Such women when they come here will not be slaves, nor are the Chinese, who come under similar conditions.

The number of Chinese in this State, as stated by the other side, is greatly exaggerated. There are not over thirty-eight thousand of them in the State, including all ages and both sexes. Langley's directory gives eight thousand as the number in this city. The anti-coolieites say there are twenty-five thousand in this city, and one hundred thousand in this State. Thousands of them are finding their way into Idaho, Colorado, Utah, and to the States further east and south; and

wherever employed—to use the words of Mr. George—they *give great satisfaction to their employers.*

That we can ever drive them out of this State is an impossibility. That matter is not left in our hands, for as the bible tells us, in 26 verse of 17 chapter of Acts:

"God hath made of one blood all nations of men, for to dwell on all the face of the earth, and hath determined the times, before appointed, and the bounds of their habitation."

In conclusion, I will endeavor to prove that it is not the Chinese who have caused the lessened demand for white labor, about which are so many complaints, but the white laborers have brought this upon themselves. I have already demonstrated that the Chinese do not enter into competition with white mechanics. Now I will show you the policy of the white man:

According to the last published statement of the saving banks in this city, they held twenty-eight millions eight hundred ninety-seven thousand six hundred and forty-five dollars on deposit, chiefly the savings of the working classes. It is this immense amount of money drawn out of the channels of trade and productive industry that has become a drag chain on the wheels of progress. This money being used exclusively for the purposes of speculation, the working men have thus been furnishing the money lenders the means to stop production. So long as money earns more for speculative purposes than it does in manufacturing or for developing the resources of the State, so long may we expect to see every department of business stagnant, except that of usury. Speculators who make their hundreds of thousands of dollars annually, employ but little labor. It is upon manufactures and production that labor must depend for employment. The money locked up in the savings banks is sufficient to set every department of business

in active motion. But so long as it returns twelve per cent. to depositors, it is not likely to be employed in manufactures. We cannot have the money and the marbles too. The depositors in the savings banks cannot expect to keep up interest to four times the rate in England, and three times the rate in New York, and expect labor to be in demand at high rates of wages.

Money may be borrowed to any extent in London for manufacting purposes, at two and a half to three per cent. per annum. The banks of New York are overflowing with money which cannot be loaned at four to six per cent. per annum, because it is too dear. While here in San Francisco, no manufacturer, farmer, or other person engaged in productive industry, can obtain a dollar at less rental than twelve, from that to twenty-four per cent.

We are all insane if we think we can successfully compete with Eastern or European manufacturers, while our labor and capital are from fifty to one hundred per cent. dearer than theirs.

This, the real cause of the stagnation in the demand for labor, is never fairly explained to the working men. The poor Chinese are set up as a decoy, to draw attention from the real evil. It is the cheap labor of the Chinese that keeps the few factories we have in operation. Even the co-operative mills and factories owned by white working men, have to employ Chinese labor to cheapen the costs of their products.

In discussing the question of Chinese labor, I have purposely avoided any reference to the Japanese, because they are not included in the charges made against the Chinese. But if heathenism, color, the place of nativity, race, language, industry and ingenuity, and cheapness of labor, are objections, they will apply with additional force against the Japanese.

At some future time I may address you on the sub-

ject of Japan labor. I will only now state that we have a colony of these people in this State, which gives promise of most important results in the immediate future. This interesting colony is acclimatizing the tea, bamboo, mulberry, varnish, cinnamon, and other valuable Japanese plants; and from the nurseries tended by them, in a few years the white people of the south and west will be supplied with seed and cuttings, to be planted, when industry may spring up, equal in importance to cotton or sugar cultivation; for both these great industries originated from just such a beginning.

Having answered the various charges preferred against the Chinese to the very best of my humble ability, I shall not call upon you, ladies and gentlemen of the jury, for your verdict at this time, but appeal to you to give the testimony for the prosecution and defense your most serious consideration. Let the subject be in your memories after you leave this hall. Ponder over it, and, at some future time, I hope to have the pleasure of calling upon you for your verdict.

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